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Near East & South Asia

ISRAEL

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. Policy Said Increasing Settlement Support

92AE0220B Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew
22 Jan 92 p 19

[Commentary by Major General (Res.) Shlomo Gazit:
"Bush, Do Not Force Me to Support the Settlements"]

[Text]

A. Absorption of Immigration

Israel was founded so that the phenomenon of the persecuted, wandering Jew, the Jew who is forced to abandon his home while the gates of all of the countries of the world are closed to him, would never occur again. A Jewish, independent, and sovereign Israel was intended to prevent this. The Law of Return grants every Jew the right to enter our gates.

But there is also another side to the coin. Israel's establishment remains the first and foremost national objective. Only large-scale Jewish immigration can further this process. We now have a singular opportunity—the large concentration of Jews in the Soviet Union has encountered the distress of movement. If these immigrants are not absorbed in Israel, it is doubtful whether another opportunity for large-scale immigration will be created in the foreseeable future.

As I see it, the absorption of immigration is a national task of the highest and most pressing order. This is a challenge that must now push aside every other task.

B. The Defense of Israel

We are conducting negotiations with our neighbor enemies on peace agreements. It is my fervent hope that these negotiations will be productive and terminate with political agreements. Nevertheless, I do not delude myself. Messianic peace will not rule between us and our neighbors, and the threat to our existence will not disappear until all of the problems are fundamentally solved. On the one hand, [this will entail] an agreement that will be fully and precisely implemented with regard to each and every question, and on the other hand [this will require] a deep and fundamental change of Arab-Muslim society that will facilitate political stability and prevent extremist upheavals that may endanger our existence.

My conclusion from this assumption is the need for peace agreements that will include security arrangements that will not prejudice or diminish Israel's capacity to deter—and, should it be necessary, to defend itself and to achieve victory in a war, should it be forced upon us. This perception is what guided the peace agreement that Israel signed with Egypt—Israeli political concession of the Sinai territories, while Cairo accepted reality and came to terms with the fact that Israel's security border would remain at the Suez canal.

C. The Settlements in the Territories of Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza

I object to the concept behind these settlements. Those who attempt to compare the objectives of Israeli settlement prior to the founding of the State with the current situation do not understand the entirety of the deep differences that have been created since then.

I object to settlement because it is antidefense. Every new settlement and every additional settlement are an unnecessary burden to the defense. We must not delude ourselves—the total of Israel's military-defensive might is limited and finite. Troops cannot be added in Hebron without being missed in another, more important defensive effort. We have already learned in the Yom Kippur War that war is not waged on the backs of civilians. The first decision reached on the morning of October 6, 1973 was to evacuate the settlers from the Golan Heights and from the Sinai.

I object to settlement because it needlessly exacerbates the negative friction between Jews and Palestinian Arabs. Today, in particular, when the Arab interest in arriving at a settlement has increased (and not out of love for Israel, God forbid), we are adding oil to the fire of hatred every day.

Indeed, there is convoluted logic calling for this policy. Only "Kach" and "Moledet" say so openly—the friction and the confrontations will run the "Arabs of the Land of Israel" out of the Land of Israel. Or then, we will be left with an Israel that is clean of Arabs. We will not be able to convince those who espouse this policy by virtue of Messianic faith, even if we tell them that this is false Messianism. To all of the others, I will only say this—this is a definite recipe for an Arab-Muslim holy war to be waged against us, that will lead to the destruction of the third temple.

D. The Dilemma

Soon the fate of the American guarantees for the loans so vital to us for the absorption of immigration shall be decided. There are those who are proficient in the modes of thought of the White House who predict that an American ultimatum to the prime minister of Israel is approaching, in the style of: if the settlements are not immediately halted, you can forget about the guarantees.

I do not know what truth there is to that prediction. However, if anyone is seriously considering this, I maintain that another aspect should be presented to the American president: a year ago, you presented an ultimatum, and in entirely different circumstances. You then proved that you do not understand a thing about the natures of other peoples. You expected that the Iraqi people would respond to your call and remove its despised president. This expectation went entirely unrealized.

Like me, the great majority of the citizens of Israel rejects the settlements and expects their cessation. Nonetheless, if you indeed err and present such an ultimatum to my prime minister, I will have no choice—I will be among the first to

support him. Israel is better off conducting erroneous foreign and defense policy than acting correctly according to foreign dictates.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Russian Immigrant Strength in Elections

92AE0198A Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT (Weekend Supplement) in Hebrew 31 Jan 92 pp 6-7

[Article by 'Orli Azulai-Katz]

[Text] In the large parties, those responsible for attracting Russian constituents have already begun to pull their hair out. Random checks show that most of the new immigrants from the Soviet Union change their place of residence during their first year in Israel at least once or twice.

This means that it will not be possible to update voter registers, and thousands if not tens of thousands of immigrants will be unable to vote in their new places of residence. Both the Labor Party and the Likud have come up with the idea of setting up mobile polling places (based on the practice followed in the IDF [Israel Defense Forces]) in 25 locales where immigrants are concentrated. Thus, a new immigrant now living in Beersheva, but whose address is 'Or Yehuda, can vote with a folded envelope, as does a regular soldier; the problem would be solved. Not exactly. This is where the complications begin. All polls indicate that only 1 percent of the Russian immigrants would vote for the religious parties. A large turnout of Russian voters would mean a reduction in the power of the religious parties relative to the secular parties. The religious parties thus have a clear interest in a low turnout of Russian voters. In case anyone has forgotten, the Interior Ministry, which is controlled by a religious party, is responsible for updating voter registers.

Knesset Member Avraham Katz-'Oz, who is in charge of handling the Russians in the Labor Party, warns: "If the Interior Ministry does not make an effort, there will be great confusion. It is clear that the Interior Ministry will attempt to cause confusion, because the religious parties will not receive votes from the Russians." According to statistics from the situation room in the Finance Ministry, 75 percent of the new immigrants are concentrated in 25 settlements throughout Israel. If mobile polling stations are not set up in these locales, an estimated 35 percent of the immigrants would not vote, which would be a clear loss for both Labor and the Likud.

Already, both Labor and the Likud are cooperating to enable Russian immigrants to reach polling places without encountering a potential bureaucratic obstacle set up by the religious parties. The religious parties are concerned. Their power relative to the secular population is diminishing.

Political commentators and professional pollsters estimate that the Russian vote will be decisive in Israeli elections. In the past two years, about 400,000 immigrants have come to Israel. Of this number, 240,000 have the right to vote, which is about 10 mandates. Due to the growth of the

electorate caused by the immigrants, each mandate will now equal an estimated 24,000 to 26,000 votes, compared to about 20,000 votes in the previous Knesset.

In polls recently undertaken by the two major parties, it emerged that an immigrant party, if it were established, would receive 40 percent of the Russian votes. About six months ago, 53 percent of Russian immigrant voters said that they would vote for such a party.

It should be assumed that the advancement of the date for elections has precluded the formation of an independent Russian party. Immigrant organizations are split, in conflict, and waging battles for prestige. If one party is established, another two or three would be likely to follow, because both veteran and new Soviet immigrants have not produced from among themselves a leadership on which there is a consensus.

The heating up of the political climate in recent weeks has seen the beginning of attempts here and there to establish a Russian party that would represent the new immigrants' interests and be a decisive factor bearing upon the formation of any government. All eyes looked to Natan Sharanski, a new-old immigrant with a big reputation. However, Sharanski is still hesitating about whether to head a Russian party. He has so far refrained from identifying with any party.

Sharanski might have been disposed to a project to establish a new party were it not for the internal Russian politics that have surfaced among interest groups now entering the playing field. Sharanski is indeed a personality and symbol for Israelis. However, immigrants from Georgia or Tashkent have not even heard of him. Immigrants from the Soviet Union can be grouped according to their origins. Immigrants from the Caucasus, for example, would be hard-pressed to find a common denominator with immigrants from Leningrad. Thus, a consensus on a natural leadership has not developed within the larger group of Soviet immigrants.

Those who know Sharanski well claim that he now believes that heading a list would soil his hands in the political mud, and that he has consequently decided to step aside. His confidant, Avraham Ben Ya'akov, a sharp-tongued immigrant from Russia who currently works in the Jewish Agency, claims: "Without Sharanski, a party will not be established. The others are simply impotent." Another close friend of Sharanski, Yuli Edelstein, who works with him in the Zionist Forum, has stated in media interviews: "Make no mistake, the immigrants are not sheep. They will not vote as they are told. This is a mistaken attitude."

To keep their power from fragmenting, 11 Soviet immigrant organizations have decided to form the Union of Soviet Immigrants to conduct negotiations with both the Likud and the Labor Party to obtain greater representation and a plan to solve the problems of Russian immigrants. The union is talking about at least five Russians occupying real spots on a party list. The Labor Party is currently discussing the possibility of reserving two spots for the Russians between the 30th and 40th spots on its list. The

union has responded to this offer contemptuously. The Likud has yet to decide how to give representation to the Russians.

"Yes, we are going to practice [political] extortion," says Robert Golan, the head of the Union of Soviet Immigrants. "We will conduct negotiations with the Likud and the Labor Party. Whoever gives more will receive our votes. We will do to the parties what the religious parties did to them, without recourse to dirty methods. We will not demand money to serve our exclusive interests. Rather, we will demand representation and a solution to our problems."

In addition to Golan, the lobby also contains groups of immigrants from different republics and professional groups, such as the Musicians Association, the Scientists Association, the Union of Building Associations, and the Association of Theatrical Artists.

Golan: "We appealed to 12 associations. Eleven agreed to join. We also appealed to Sharanski and the Zionist Forum. He did not even bother to respond. I do not know why. Mr. Sharanski can have his opinion. He apparently does not wish to be connected with us. The Marxism-Leninism period in which everyone thinks the same thing has ended. It is his right. In any case, we have reached the conclusion that the new immigrants lack power and need to pursue their own interests."

Golan, who has been in Israel for 17 years, has in the past been identified with the Labor Party. He does not conceal his connection to the party. However, this connection does not prevent him from supporting the Likud if it will give more to the Soviet Immigrants. "We have 65 representations throughout Israel. We bring together thousands of new and veteran immigrants. Of course, we are not automations. All of us will not vote alike. However, we have formed a lobby to make it clear that Russian immigration to Israel can no longer be ignored.

"We have excellent forces. There are scientists who have plans to establish science-intensive industrial parks, and there are musicians who have still not found employment. We have many plans in hand. Whoever is willing to implement them will receive our votes. Our struggle began only this week when we united and declared the formation of the lobby. We will hold discussions with each of the major parties. We will consider running as an independent party only if there is no alternative. The establishment of a Russian party is not a good idea, because it will divide the [Russian] vote."

No Russian party has been established. It can also be reckoned that no such party will be established. The struggle will be between the two major parties until election day. The two major parties will be willing to do everything to mobilize the Russians' support.

In one government office, data from about 100 surveys and research studies regarding new immigrants was processed informally. This data, which was classified as secret, somehow reached the two large parties, which are now forming their strategies to storm the Russians based on it.

The most recent piece of data collected shows that 51 percent of the immigrants are advising their relatives in the republics not to come to Israel, and 26 percent are advising them to delay their move to Israel. In the government, it is thought that such advice accounts for the low rates of immigration in recent months.

Another piece of data shows clearly that the immigrants are significantly ignorant about Israeli politics.

In response to the question, "who is most suited to lead the state of Israel," 45 percent said Yitzhaq Shamir. Only 10 percent think that Peres is suited, 5 percent supported Sharon, and 3 percent Rabin. When presented with a list of Labor and Likud personalities and asked, "who, in your opinion, is suited to be prime minister, the respondents ranked the candidates as follows: Shamir, Netanyahu, Peres, Arens, Rabin, Sharon, and Qaysar.

In terms of substance, the data indicate that the immigrants do not tend to favor the return of territory—a result of their Soviet education. If the Likud highlights holding onto the territories in its election campaign, it can garner many votes. However, if it highlights employment, housing, and immigration absorption in its election propaganda for the immigrants's consumption, it should be assumed that the immigrants will not hasten en masse to vote for it. The immigrants believe that the government has failed completely in these areas. Sixty percent of the immigrants claimed in polls that the government is not handling immigration properly.

The two large parties are now closely studying everything that concerns Russian immigration. Dr. Aharon Fein, the director of the Tatzpit Institute in Jerusalem, who is an expert in conducting polls for different institutions, estimates that two thirds of the immigrants will support right-wing parties and only a third will support parties on the left. Recently processed governmental data show that 17 percent of the immigrants define themselves as capitalists, 38 percent as liberals, 27 percent as social democrats, and only 9 percent define themselves as socialists. The profile of a Russian immigrant, as depicted by this data, is completely different from everything that has been customarily thought to date. The vast majority of the immigrants claim that they do not want volunteer organizations targeting them, they do not want Passover Seder nights in kibbutzim, they are not interested in marches to arouse Jewish patriotism, and they have no interest in organized ideological activities. The parties that have so far stormed the Russians with volunteer organizations have recently been forced to change their tactics in response to these findings.

An unexpected finding is that young Russians are not interested in being inducted into the IDF, and they express doubts regarding the IDF's power. Adult immigrants on the other hand aspire for their children to serve in the IDF.

The researchers who collected the data argued that, from an analytical standpoint, the Russians follow patterns characteristic of immigrants in general, rather than of immigrants to Israel in particular in terms of orientation.

The immigrants' positions on the territories are particularly interesting. Sixty percent responded negatively to the question "would you be willing to return the territories." However, when the question was formulated as "would you be willing to return territories in exchange for employment," 72 percent answered affirmatively. The two main problems troubling the immigrants are employment and housing. Those who live in outlying areas focus more on the employment problem, and those who live in the large cities focus more on the housing problem. Ninety-eight percent of the immigrants define themselves as secular.

The two large parties are now preparing gimmicks to attract Russian votes. Both parties are considering offering a good spot in the middle to a "famous" Russian who would attract votes and sweep the masses after him. However, the problem of the disparate origins of the Russian immigrants has raised a serious problem in this regard. Immigrants from Moscow and Georgia share no common language, and immigrants from Leningrad have no connection to immigrants from Uzbekistan. Also, by no means are Russians famous with the Israeli public recognized by immigrants from the Soviet Union. The big parties are discussing the possibility of integrating within their front ranks Natan Sharanski, Ida Nudel, Yuli Edelstein, and others. However, checks made in recent months show that these names mean nothing to recently arrived immigrants. In the Soviet Union, they have not even heard of them.

The parties' information staffs have been industriously publishing propaganda in Russian for many months. Shim'on Peres has a Russian teacher who teaches him privately how to appeal to Russians in their language. It is no wonder. When 10 mandates are circulating freely in the field, each party has at least 10 reasons to do everything possible, and on a grand scale, to bite off the Russian vote.

When the first waves of immigration began, there was talk in the Israeli public of the immigrants making a qualitative contribution to Israeli cultural, academic, and creative life. However, the thousands of immigrants who have entered Israeli society without planning have now managed to accumulate a reserve of bitterness and frustration. According to government data, only 50 percent of the immigrants have found employment, of which only 20 percent are working in their professions. About 80 percent of those who have found work are employed at a status lower than that which they had enjoyed in their country of origin. Even a physician lucky enough to find work in a hospital in Israel must work as an orderly or nurse.

Thus, until the elections are over, the market for promises will flourish. The Likud will promise suitable employment, and Labor will offer more. Labor will offer housing on favorable terms, and the Likud will promise to foot the bill for 50 percent of housing costs. This will be the great hour of unsubstantiated rhetoric.

Robert Golan, who has become well-versed in the secrets of Israeli politics and bureaucracy, clarifies: "We have been given promises for years. We will no longer be willing to listen to words. This time, we have well-defined

demands, and we will not be satisfied with something in the air. We are going to war, and we have no intention of giving up.

Profile of Druze Aspiring to Knesset

92AE0198B Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT (Weekend Supplement) in Hebrew 31 Jan 92 p 11

[Article by 'Anat Tal-Shir and Arye Kiesel]

[Text] The man who dropped a bombshell this week by calling for the establishment of a Druze settlement in the territories is a 36-year-old Druze named Ayyub. Ayyub declared that a Druze settlement will be established for every Druze who is killed by masked assailants. Ayyub states that this is the new face of Druze pride, and that he is backed by "dozens of young Druze" who will leave the spectacular Mt. Carmel area and run to live in a trailer home next to Janin [in the West Bank].

As it turns out, Ayyub generalizes and exaggerates. His ideas are sweeping, but filled with contradictions. A simple motive underlies all of his volunteer activity: Ayyub wants to be in the next Knesset. He is shooting for the top, and the idea of a Druze settlement is only a way station on the road to a spot in the Knesset.

Ayyub lives in Daliyat-al-Karmel. That village is indeed his stronghold. However, in no way would he assume that he would be perceived as a provincial Druze villager. He and several of his supporters perceive him as a man of the world, bold and impudent, who became rich with lightning speed, and who long ago broke out of the Druze community. He has traveled in America and Singapore. He lived and ran wild in Tel Aviv. He has free access to [Police Minister] Roni (Milo), [Justice Minister] Dan (Meridor), and to Bibi [Netanyahu]. He sends faxes abroad and has a bureau chief and two attached aids, truly like any other cadet at Metzudat-Ze'ev. He also sits in the Knesset cafeteria.

In his election bid, Ayyub is identified as being on the extreme right in the Likud. He views himself as part of Israel's future leadership. He wears a pink shirt and a red tie, drives a Sierra equipped with curtains and car phone, and receives the public at "Habima" coffee [house]. He is also a representative of the "blue and white [Likud]" faction in the workers council of the Histadrut [labor federation] and is waging, he says, a war to the bitter end against the Labor Party faction in the Histadrut. His father, a member of MAPAI [Israel Workers Party], is the secretary of Qupat-Holim Klalit [General Health Fund] in the village. The red tie, according to Ayyub, symbolizes that the "reds" must be strangled.

At present, the idea of a Druze settlement in the West Bank is no more than a media fable or a cheap verbal provocation. Events point to talk of such a possibility but no sign of implementation. Since the intifadah started, three Druze have been murdered in the territories. In November 1990, prison guard Kamal Faris from Bayt Jann was

murdered next to Janin Prison. In October 1991, a contractor, from Daliyat-al-Karmel, Jamil Hassun, was murdered in the village of Zabubah in the district of Janin. A week ago, Mufid Kan'an, a hunter from Yarqa, was murdered in Janin.

Ayyub is inflating a phenomenon that does not exist. He speaks of "the murder of Druze." However, security elements do not believe that such a trend exists in the territories, and they assume that the murderers did not know their victims' identity in two of the three cases. However, Ayyub is already scooting hurriedly along on this scooter. On Tu'beshvat [the Jewish new year for trees], some of his people went to a tree-planting ceremony in the territories as guests of the settlers.

At that gathering, the idea arose of a settlement for discharged Druze soldiers. Ayyub relates that his supporters called on him to take action "to show the Palestinians that we are not afraid and not wimps." By establishing a Druze settlement, Ayyub states, we will be a part of the whole land of Israel, and we will strengthen [settlement leader Rabbi Moshe] Levinger.

About a week ago, Ayyub met with Knesset Member Elyaqim Ha'etzni. Ha'etzni advised that a letter be sent to the prime minister [regarding the establishment of a Druze settlement], and said that he would follow up the matter. The letter was sent, but no answer has been received. "Since the murder," Ayyub wrote, "our organization has been flooded with appeals from discharged Druze soldiers who want to honor the memory of the Druze murdered in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza by establishing a settlement to give concrete form to our community's connection to the whole land of Israel."

In the meantime, Druze settlements in the north have made a large outcry. Ayyub, it is said in these settlements, is a marginal, extremist phenomenon, and the Druze community, which is known for its moderation, will not be dragged into insane acts intended to decorate his path to the Knesset. Salah Tarif, the secretary of the Committees of Heads of Druze Local Councils states: "It is prohibited for us to be extremists, because that is not our way. We must act against extremist elements among us." Ayyub's response: "Let them say that I am a demagogue. Let them say what they wish. I will be the first to go to live there."

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Would you go to live in a trailer home south of Janin?

[Ayyub] Even in a tent. I am also willing to eat grass instead of steaks. I am not afraid. Nor am I settling accounts. The Druze have ingratiated themselves enough. We are first of all Israelis, and only then, Druze.

[Background] Ayyub and his wife live in a spacious villa equipped with all of the Western symbols of affluence. He built it when he started to become wealthy. The second floor is used as a kind of club or branch of the Likud in Daliyat-al-Karmel. There, he hosts ministers, Knesset members, and members of the Likud central committee. He shows the politicians how much power he has in the village, bringing hundreds of participants to meetings at

his home. He shows the people of his village that he hosts ministers like they host their mothers-in-law. Next week, Ayyub will host Yosi Ahime'ir, the director of the office of the prime minister, who also needs the Druze' support in his bid for the Knesset.

Ayyub went through his formative years at the Kfar Galim Agricultural School ("I am the most famous of my classmates," he says unhesitatingly), where he acquired an extensive, up-to-date base in the Hebrew language and came to understand that one wishing to conquer mountains must shake off the minority label and adopt the sabra [native-born Israeli] lifestyle. The school principal told him: "You will either reach the top or fall to the bottom, but you will not remain in the middle."

Here are the confessions of [Likud] central committee member Ayyub: "I was more authoritative than the counselors at the boarding school. I have always felt that I speak better than anyone who has led me. I have always seen myself as one who can do things better than others. Therefore, people have always gathered around me. I can be a leader in any society. Last week, I appeared at Be'er Ya'aqov before a large audience. I was the attraction of the evening. I have a demagogic ability, I have charisma, and I radiate power. Everywhere I appear, I conquer hearts. My aspirations are unlimited. First, I will reach the Knesset. Afterwards, perhaps I will be the first Druze minister."

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Who are your patrons in the Likud?

[Ayyub] I am identified with Roni Milo, Moshe Nisim, and Aharon Abu-Hatzeira. I like them, and I try to be like them. I admire Nisim as one who started on the periphery of the Liberal Party and became the leader of this party in the Likud. From Roni, I want to learn how to give speeches well, and I want to be infected with his charisma. [Foreign Minister] David Levy is also a symbol whom I wish to emulate.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] In a moment you will say that Abu-Hatzeira is also your model of leadership and integrity.

[Ayyub] He is the most aware person in the Knesset today. Many rumors have been fabricated against him. It is possible to incriminate any politician. I consider him innocent of any crime.

[Background] Ayyub served in the minorities unit, where he commanded an infantry company before being transferred to the military police. He says that he was injured seriously while pursuing terrorists on the northern border, and in the Lebanon War during Katyusha shellings in the Shuf Mountains. He relates that he suffered from battle shock and was recognized as an IDF [Israel Defense Forces] disabled serviceman. His older brother was injured by terrorists' fire in Lebanon and has been disabled since then. His younger brother was killed during his military service in the north.

His family record is part of the calling card which Ayyub presents. His reserve service is cloaked in secrecy on the

card: "Discreet mission." He also had ambitions to be the first Druze major general. However, those ambitions were set aside when he discovered the business world.

In 1986, he started a manpower supply company. At the time, he was young and penniless. He says that he exploited his natural talents: a commanding personality, boldness, chutzpa, intelligence, and luck. "I competed to supply 35 trucks and drivers to the Housing Ministry when I did not even own one truck." He relates that, in his bid proposal, he recorded all of the trucks owned by residents of Daliyat-al-Karmel, as if they were in his employ. Can you begin working tomorrow, members of the tenders committee asked him. Of course, Ayyub responded.

He won the tender. To impress the drivers for hire, he borrowed an Oldsmobile from a disabled friend, emerged from it in a storm, and began to rule over the drivers. "Briefly," he states with pride, "I mediated between the drivers and the Housing Ministry. Without doing anything, I brought in \$100,000 per month from which I deducted a commission for myself."

Tender followed tender. "Suddenly," he says, "I saw that I was a very successful businessman. I wanted to build an empire for myself." Ayyub is so proud of the easy money which he learned to make that he recommends that his rapid success be studied in business administration schools. According to him, Call Ayyub Ltd. currently commands 60 vehicles and 200 workers, who are employed in government ministries and public institutions.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Do you also employ workers from the territories in your company?

[Ayyub] I do not trust them in any way. Who needs these Gazans.

[Background] He reports a yearly turnover of 2 million shekels. Do his good connections with government institutions help his business? On the contrary he remonstrates. Sometimes they are even disruptive. He says that a successful politician needs a firm economic base, and that he has amassed wealth only as a tool to obtain a political position.

"I am running for the Knesset at my own expense, with my own money, car, telephone, and aids." Ayyub finances meetings of Likud candidates at his home, not to mention parties honoring Likud politicians. He spent 5,000 shekels on a party for U.S. soldiers sent to operate Patriot missiles in northern Israel. He contributed 2,500 shekels to Daliyat-al-Karmel's soccer team.

Four years ago, he established "One Destiny—The Organization of Discharged Druze Soldiers," which he says he finances. Incidentally, this organization "is affiliated with the Likud."

This week, he could not even specify the number of unemployed discharged Druze soldiers. What has he done for them? "I am their spokesman. I solve their problems, arrange jobs for them, help them when they get mixed up

with the law, speak with probation officers, provide character testimony in court, and make efforts with recruiting officers. For example, I gained the release from detention of a soccer player from Daliyat-al-Karmel who deserted for a very brief time, and I flew him at my expense to a training camp abroad."

Ayyub arrived at a meeting in Tel Aviv accompanied by five or six persons ("my followers") who stayed within his sight for four whole hours. They included a member of the [Likud] center ("my aid"), a beauty in a black mini ("a friend from the Likud who helps me"), a mature man in an embroidered turban ("one of my ardent supporters"), and Karmal Abu-Hamid ("he also works for me"), a young man from Daliyat al-Karmel, who was sent from time to time to take calls on Ayyub's car phone.

About two months ago, after the murder of Druze Jamil Hassun, Abu-Hamid stopped a truck from the territories which had entered Daliyat-al-Karmel, ordered the passengers to get out, and shot the tires on the truck "to teach them not to pass through the village." Abu-Hamid's father was killed by terrorists when he was young. Ayyub preaches democracy and opposes hooliganism and violence, but he justifies Abu-Hamid's actions.

"This is how it is in the Middle East. There are laws, and there is eastern honor. We had served notice that we do not want vehicles from the territories passing through the village. The driver of this truck provoked us. His tires were shot. That was only a message. Incidentally, through my influence, Abu-Hamid was released from detention. I have appointed legal defense for him." Regarding the motley group around him, he says: "I enjoy helping people who lack support, are neglected, and lack aspirations. I try to gather such people around [me]."

Ayyub's group is taking part in the Druze settlement fairy tale. Natur Kamal, a painter from Daliyat al-Karmel, claims that the initiative is not a curiosity. "We have youths who are not finding a place for themselves. Let them go to the territories. We are very connected with the Likud. This is the way things are in the country today. One supports what is comfortable and good." Sami Halabi, from Daliyat al-Karmel: "I am not sure that we will be obliged to establish a settlement after declaring [our intention to do] it. Perhaps we have already obtained our objective."

Ayyub says that the settlement leaders have proposed the settlement of 'Anin, which is next to Janin. He could move 50 families there overnight. However, in the meantime, no family is agreeing to move. Aharon Domb, the spokesman for the Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza Council, states that a nucleus of Druze is apparently designated to settle Ganot next to Janin, and a discussion on this will take place soon. However, Moshe Chiprot, the coordinator of Samaria in the AMANA [Gush Emunim Settlement Organization], states: "We have conditions. We settle only Jews. If the Druze wish to settle, they must first convert."

Reasons for Haredim, Archaeologists' Tensions

92AE0198C Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT (Weekend Supplement) in Hebrew 31 Jan 92 p 16-17, 21

[Article by 'Amos Nevo]

[Text] A religious war threatens Jerusalem: The haredim and the Christians are arguing over bones, the Christians are threatening to appeal to the United Nations, and the haredim are threatening to incite riots. The haredim are backed by the grave commando, "Atra' Qadisha' [Holy Place]," which is the dread of archaeologists and contractors. A complex network of informants reports to Atra' Qadisha' on every burial cave that is uncovered. Its connections span the globe. It even has access to the White House. 'Amos Nevo visited their "war room" in Bene Beraq [a largely haredi section of Tel Aviv].

After the first snow, the ground was soft in Mamilla [the former no-man's land between East and West Jerusalem, where an upscale neighborhood is about to be built]. Archeologist Avni stood on the tell, saying that he cannot understand the friends of [Atra' Qadisha' activist David Mikha'el] Schmiedel.

Avni: "You can see for yourself that a cross is carved above the entrance to the burial cave. What does this mean? That a synagogue was here?! And here, at the entrance to the cave, a Christian prayer chamber was found, and here is a mosaic floor and a Greek inscription. And Schmiedel tells us that this is a Jewish burial cave. It is enough to drive you crazy."

Inside the cave lay a pile of bones, perhaps a meter high, consisting of literally hundreds of skulls and skeletons placed on top of each other. Schmiedel maintains that these are the bones of Jews. Archeologist Avni maintains that they are not. Schmiedel says fine, but because some doubt exists...and Jerusalem trembles. Haredim come, shouting "gevalt [Heaven help us]." Schmiedel orders the sealing of the cave, and it is sealed.

As bulldozers excavate earth, uncovering burial caves, Schmiedel runs from excavation to excavation. He has no car, he travels by bus. In his black coat, he lies on the ground to check every find. He is said to be an outstanding expert. He can distinguish between a donkey's bone and a human bone. He also understands archeology. He has lived with bones for 35 years. He is the chairman of Atra' Qadisha', an association which exists for the sake of holy places, protecting ancient graves and opposing those who would desecrate them.

Every novice archeologist knows that whenever he starts to excavate a grave, he will immediately hear voices speaking Yiddish behind his back—the patrol. It demonstrates, threatens, and spends nights next to graves. Gid'on Avni, the archeologist for the Jerusalem Region in the Antiquities Authority: "I do not need trouble from them. Jerusalem is such a sensitive city, filled with the bones and graves of Christians, Muslims, and Jews."

Avni is trying to get along with them. He speaks politely, allows their supervisor to closely monitor the excavation,

stops digging for a short time to cool down the atmosphere, and negotiates with them. However, it does not always help. The haredim fear Heaven. Announcements posted in Me'a She'arim [a haredi neighborhood in Jerusalem] threaten that "if you [archaeologists] continue to disturb the graves of Jews, we will plaster photographs of you on the walls of the city and in the diaspora. You have been warned." According to the haredim, the archaeologists are "cursed," "evil," "Nazis," who will forever have attached to their names the title "unclean name," or "the name of the wicked shall rot." The archaeologists' code word for them is "our friends."

Every haredi knows that archaeologists are not fought in the mud. However, soon, the sun will rise, and a major war will break out in the capital. Perhaps the haredim will stop the bulldozers in Mamilla for example. Woe to whoever touches the burial cave uncovered there in the former no-man's land between East and West Jerusalem, where an upscale neighborhood with a promenade, stores, and a large parking lot is about to be built with a \$250-million investment. In the case of Mamilla, bulldozers building a parking lot encountered a series of destroyed graves from the First and Second Temple periods. The graves were immediately covered with earth, and the bones were transferred secretly to the Religious Affairs Ministry. The builders of the Mamilla project attempted to keep the secret from leaking to the haredim, because they feared that the discovery of graves would bury the project. It was only after a local newspaper reported the incident that the Antiquities Authority acknowledged the discovery of graves at the site. Schmiedel and his people arrived. Somehow, the matter passed quietly. According to Avni, the haredim became agitated precisely when a Christian burial cave was discovered nearby.

Avni: "This is a Christian cave from the Byzantine period in which Christian victims of a slaughter carried out by the Persians in 614 CE are buried. We proved this to the haredim based on the finds.

Schmiedel: "The archaeologists did not prove this to us unequivocally, and they never spoke with us with certainty. This cave was found among Jewish graves, and we have no reason to think that it is not Jewish. The cross is not proof, because Jewish burial caves with crosses have been found."

The haredim demonstrated. According to rumors, they even threatened to boycott the businesses of millionaire Cyril Stein, one of the owners of the project. At present, the cave remains sealed. The construction of the parking lot has been postponed.

Schmiedel is satisfied. It is a temporary victory he says.

Avni will not give up. He says that he is acting according to the law, and no one can just come along to make his life difficult. We shall see, we shall see, Schmiedel says.

Schmiedel has a long beard and outmoded glasses with a black frame. He is somewhat disheveled. His shoes are worn out, the tassels of his fringed garment [worn by

observant Jews] hang over his pants. He lives with his wife and children in a small apartment in Bene Beraq.

Schmiedel operates the Atra' Qadisha' patrol from his living room. The walls are dirty. One sees hundreds of holy books, a telephone wrapped in a plastic bag, and a Bredar typewriter. There is terrible chaos. The table is overflowing with pages and maps. Books are all over the bed, along with an overcoat and cardboard fruit packing crates overflowing with correspondences and memoranda. There are hundreds of photographs of skeletons, bones, skulls, and graves. In the adjacent room, a fax machine discharges reports from the field. The smell of onion being fried by Mrs. Schmiedel emanates from the kitchen. This is the war room of Atra' Qadisha'.

The Brisker Rabbi, Yitzhaq Ze'ev Soloveichik, would be deeply pleased if he could see what Schmiedel has done with his creation, which is now a well-oiled machine comprising dozens of informants, hundreds of activists, and six board members, almost all of them volunteers. Schmiedel receives initial information from the field. Haredim who happen upon archeological excavations call him, or someone simply tells someone about a dig which he heard about from someone else. They use a frequency scanner to eavesdrop on archeologists' conversations. Sometimes they follow their vehicles. According to Aharon Gartner, one of the activists, they have their "faithful": "These are simply good-hearted, not necessarily religious, people who are pained by the desecration of graves. They include workers in the Jewish National Fund and the Nature Reserves Authority, and, surprisingly, archeologists whose conscience compels them to call and report on an excavation about to begin at a given site."

Yisra'el Eisenbach arrives first. He is the scout. Eisenbach is a Karliner hasid in his thirties who lives in Batey-Ungarin in Jerusalem. His side locks are rolled up behind his ears. He sometimes wears a tembel hat. He is said to be a good navigator. He goes out into the field in a blue 1979 Wagoner donated by the Satmar Rabbi. In the back, he has flashlights, measuring instruments, a stretcher, and cements if needed. The archeologists say that he appears suddenly, parks his vehicle in a concealed position, silences the engine, and takes out binoculars.

Shim'on Anashin arrives after him. Anashin is the bone expert. He is familiar with all types of graves. At 13, he is said to have crossed the border in Jerusalem to walk to the Mount of Olives to care for graves. He was a member of the National Military Organization [which fought the British and Arabs in Palestine]. In the army, he handled those who fell in battle. A Breslau hasid in his sixties, he resides in Me'a She'arim. Veteran archeologists of Jerusalem remember him scouting archeological sites on an old motor scooter, his beard flowing in the breeze.

David Mikha'el Schmiedel is the commander of Atra' Qadisha'. In his fifties, he is sharp, witty, and Atra' Qadisha's politician. He studies the writings of Maimonides in his spare time. He is close to the Vision of Man circle. He was born in Austria, grew up in Tel Aviv not far from Habima, and studied in the Hayishuv Hehadash

Yeshiva in the city. He then "went black" [i.e., became a haredi], attending Slobodka Yeshiva and becoming close to the Brisker Rabbi. He does not have the title of rabbi, but everyone affectionately calls him Rabbi Schmiedel.

In 1956, he went with friends to Tiberius to protest the desecration of graves in the ancient cemetery in the city. Since then, he says, he has assumed the lifelong mission of saving souls from grief. The excavation of Beit-She'arim created an uproar. The Brisker Rabbi decided at the time to establish Atra' Qadisha', and Schmiedel became a regular activist, teaching in yeshivas for his livelihood. He slowly grew into a leader. He accepted an appointment to administer the yeshiva of the Karliner hasidim in Tiberius. Since then, he has divided his time between Tiberius and Bene Beraq. He reads archeological studies and press clippings collected for him.

Schmiedel: "What the archaeologists are doing is shocking. They are not allowing the dead to rest in peace. Although the archaeologists deny it, we know that thousands of skeletons lie in numbered cardboard boxes in the cellars of the Rockefeller Museum. One of our people penetrated there. He saw and obtained lists of all of the caves from which bones were taken. We also know that bones were taken abroad.

"When graves are excavated, the archaeologists initially say that they found no bones. Then, they acknowledge that they found something, not human bones, but animal bones. Several hours later, they change their account. The bones become those of non-Jews. Ultimately, we prove to them that the bones are of Jews, and the shame is great. The establishment helps and protects them.

"Why do you need all of this?! This digging causes grief to the deceased, and it brings heavy punishment upon the individual and the community: death, disease, wars, and famine years. The Jews have always risked their lives to protect graves. The body of the deceased is a vessel for the performance of divine commandments. The soul remembers the body and becomes upset when the body is disturbed."

Archeologist Avni: "We are not desecrating graves. We are saving them. If we do not dig, the tractor will come and take everything. Our aim is to save and to learn about the people and culture of the same period. Fragments of human life are preserved in the grave. You learn about the spiritual life of a certain society from its burial practices and the vessels left in the grave. We check the bones in the laboratory and learn about the origin, life expectancy, and food of the person, what happened, and the cause of death. Very practical things are learned about bone degeneration processes for example, or dental diseases."

Schmiedel: "Is everything permitted in the name of science? It is forbidden for science to break into a domain which does not belong to it and to cause sorrow. Why study things about a dead person?! Is it important to have statistics on infant mortality and lifestyle from 2,000 years ago? Let them open the ledgers of the burial society in Jerusalem from 100 years ago, and they will learn that the

benefit that will accrue to them will be much greater. No, this does not interest them. They send some student to research nonsense, the tooth decay of ancient Jews. What does he conclude? That the percentage of tooth decay in antiquity was similar to that of today, that the percent of decay increases with age, that there is no difference between the right and left sides, and other such vanities. For this, they extract teeth from the dead."

The land of Israel is sown with graves. Hundreds of graves have been excavated by the Antiquities Authority throughout the land. For the most part, these are salvage excavations intended to save archeological finds from the teeth of bulldozers and to permit the development of the country. Every contractor knows that he must report the discovery of antiquities at his construction site to the Antiquities Authority, and suspend works and development until a salvage excavation is conducted.

Contractors in sensitive areas, such as Jerusalem, know that it is very important for Schmiedel to be in the picture, because Schmiedel represents power. With his patrol, he can stop archeological excavations or shift them from their sites. He can change or abolish development and construction plans. Sometimes, he arrives at a burial cave with his people before the archaeologists and seals the opening. If he is stubborn, the builders of the Mamilla project will be compelled to change the plan for the parking lot at great expense. The final course of Road No. 1 adjacent to the old city in Jerusalem is likely to be changed if he does not withdraw from the struggle [now being waged over the graves unearthed in the road's path].

In Tel Aviv, his stubbornness caused the municipality and the Netivey Ayalon Company to relocate the Kibbutz-Gluyot road, which passed over an ancient cemetery, and to build, at great expense, an elevated highway supported by special concrete arches to allow for an air barrier against ritual impurity [so that members of the priestly class, who are forbidden in most cases to enter cemeteries can travel on it] as required by Jewish law. The Tiberius-Tzemah road, which passed over ancient graves, has also been redone using the same method under Atra' Qadisha's supervision.

In Bet Shemesh and in Pisgat Ze'ev in Jerusalem, the Housing Ministry changed construction plans due to pressure exerted by Schmiedel and his people. Schmiedel tells contractors: Build according to Jewish law, do not disturb a grave, leave suitable spaces, and do not forget air barriers against ritual impurity.

The archaeologists charge the haredim with hypocrisy. Whole haredi neighborhoods in Jerusalem are built on graves. "So what," says Schmiedel, "all of these neighborhoods are built according to the requirements of Jewish law. I know of no house located on top of a grave that has not been built according to Jewish law."

Schmiedel begins his negotiations with archaeologists and contractors in a business-like, positive way, because he

likes to settle matters quietly. If he does not succeed, he enters into a struggle, and Atra' Qadisha's struggles are hard and painful.

One telephone call or an announcement in synagogues, and masses of haredim go out into the street. The publication of photographs of these protests in the world causes substantial contributions to flow to Atra' Qadisha's treasury. Sometimes, haredi Knesset members [MK] are mobilized. Sometimes, rich and influential Jews in the world, important officials in the White House, and senators are mobilized. All of the fervor of the haredim is invested in them.

Violence is also not lacking.

Aharon Gartner waits all day for a telephone call from Schmiedel. In between, he manages the cooperative shop of Degel Hatorah. A beeper is stuck in his belt. He smokes Time [a brand of Israeli cigarettes] constantly. He is 26, has red hair, and is wholly combative by nature. He documents all of the struggles with a Minolta camera. He has collected thousands of photographs.

As early as age 12, when he was a student in the Talmud-Torah [religious school] in Bene Beraq, he went with his friends to collect bones at excavations in Jericho. For two months, he slept next to Maimonides' grave in Tiberius to prevent its desecration. He has slipped into hospitals and research institutes to steal containers holding human limbs. He has wrestled with archaeologists and forcefully sealed burial caves. He has been arrested and released repeatedly. Gartner: "Actually, I never wanted to be released, because as a condition for my release, I was prohibited from returning to demonstrate in the same area. However, as a Jew who is faithful to such a war, you cannot sign [an agreement to comply with a condition] against [pursuing that war]."

Together with his friends, he would steal in the dark of night into area G in the City of David to check finds discovered by archeologist Yig'al Shiloh at the dig. Gartner and his friends were a great source of bitterness for Shiloh: They were unruly at the site, destroyed walls, broke pottery, threw rocks at diggers, wrestled with the police, hit Shiloh, threatened him and his son, spit on his wife, sent her mice, and, when he died, they said that his death was divine punishment and published celebration notices.

They have also greatly embittered the lives of the builders of the Ganey Hamat Hotel in Tiberius, who built a hotel on an ancient Jewish cemetery disregarding the requirements of Jewish law. The Ganey Hamat episode in 1985 has also been recorded as a gloomy chapter in the history of Bank Le'umi, which was a partner in the hotel's construction. Haredim lay down in front of the bulldozers, rabbis were arrested, and the streets in Jerusalem and Bene Beraq were covered with notices. The haredim called the actions of the entrepreneurs "machinations of Nazis." "The Germans made soap from bones, and Bank Le'umi is making a hotel out of bones" was the wording of one notice.

They inserted a swastika in the bank's logo. Bank Le'umi's branches in areas populated by haredim were set on fire

and sullied with invective graffiti. Telephone threats were made against the leaders of the bank. Haredim, covered with burlap sacks and ashes demonstrated daily in front of the bank's branch in Ge'ula. Clients stamped on their checks "this check shall not be honored if it is drawn through Bank Le'umi."

The struggle over respect for the dead spread to abroad. Demonstrations, harassment, threatening letters to the bank's representatives in New York—nothing helped. The entrepreneurs continued to build according to the directives of the Chief Rabbi, Mordekhay Eliyahu. Schmiedel decided to escalate the struggle: The rabbis instructed the haredim to cancel their accounts in Bank Le'umi.

Ganey Hamat indeed became a fact. However, the boycott has not been suspended. Last week, Schmiedel said: I heard that they want to continue building there. The struggle has not ended as far as we are concerned.

Now, he wants to settle matters in Jerusalem, because problems there are very serious. One must keep a finger on the pulse, he asserts, because the archaeologists constantly deceive us. The patrol's activity, he maintains, is causing archeology to go underground.

Schmiedel: "A burial cave was found at a site in Jerusalem. We reached an agreement with them according to which they would stop working for several hours. They exploited the time during which we were negotiating to open a side access, and they removed bones. At Dvoriya, we discovered that they were excavating a burial cave. One of our people stood at the cave's entrance and did not permit them to continue digging. The police arrived. With the mediation of the rabbi of 'Afula, the diggers agreed to postpone the excavation until morning. We came in the morning, and, to our surprise, the cave was empty. During the night, they had excavated and removed several skeletons. We raised an outcry. The bones were buried again, and the cave was sealed. On Mount Scopus, two and a half months ago, they exploited the Sabbath eve and our absence from the field to remove 27 coffins."

Archeologist Avni: "We are not afraid of them, and we are not deceiving them. We excavate at night and remove artifacts to prevent the pillaging of coffins or demonstrations and excessive tension."

The Mount Scopus affair produced a deep shock. The haredim in the United States threatened to demonstrate. Amir Drori, the director of the Antiquities Authority, who was in New York at the time, was willing to go to the Satmar Rabbi to clarify what happened regarding the coffins. However, those close to the Admor [title given to a hasidic rabbi] did not agree. Only Schmiedel will decide, they said. The Rabbinical Council in America asked Prime Minister Shamir to stop the excavations, because the graves of the holy and righteous protect the country's borders. Ultimately, the skeletons were returned to the Religious Affairs Ministry. However, Schmiedel charges that they deceived them by returning bones other than the

ones that were removed originally. Avni maintains that everything that was discovered on Mount Scopus was transferred for burial.

In mid-December, on the day when the vote to nullify the resolution equating Zionism with racism was held in the United Nations, thousands of haredim, led by the Satmar Admor, gathered in front of the Israeli consulate in New York. They prayed and denounced the state, equating grave excavators with racists. Simultaneously, hundreds of demonstrators filled the street leading to the Israeli consulate in Montreal.

In Jerusalem too, at the same time, on Heyl Hahandasa Street, not far from the Western Wall, haredim stood and shouted. Eisenbach had summoned them. He stood there from dawn till dusk to make sure that archaeologists digging at the site of the third wall would not excavate graves. This was once the no-man's land between West and East Jerusalem. Road No. 1 passes nearby. Archeologist David 'Amit discovered an Armenian monastery there from the Byzantine period and a small church. Tens of thousands of monks lived here according to the sources. The diggers uncovered sections of walls made of white, reddish brown stone, perhaps dining rooms, perhaps bedrooms, perhaps storage rooms. They found broken steps leading to a burial cave.

Avni: "Last year, we excavated 20 graves 30 meters from there. All of them were Christian graves. The excavation was done under Atrah' Qadisha's close supervision. No problem arose. The Greek Orthodox Patriarch requested the bones. He received them and buried them in the Church of the Sepulchre.

"Here, at the same site, a full-blown riot suddenly breaks out. We held dozens of discussions with Schmiedel and his people. We proved to them that these are Christian graves. We showed them finds: a mosaic floor with a rare Greek inscription, a burial style and grave shape characteristic of tombs in monasteries, and crosses. We proved to them that this is a Christian grave. However, they are continuing to demonstrate and say psalms over...Christian graves. Suddenly the graves underwent a rapid conversion, and in the posters pasted on the walls in Me'a She'arim, they became 'graves of our forefathers.'"

Schmiedel: "They have no proof. The archaeologists told us that Jews and Christians from different periods are buried there. They later argued that this is Jewish doubt."

Avni: "Incorrect. Initially, they agreed that these are the graves of Christians. They later reconsidered. We said: Come, let us check the bones. They were afraid that if we were to take the bones to the Rockefeller Museum, we would mix them up with other bones or cause them to disappear. To appease them, we suggested that the bones be examined in the field. Schmiedel agreed initially. He then said that he wanted to bring the matter before the haredi community's court of justice for a decision. The court of justice rejected our proposal and prohibited the excavation of the site without touring the site or listening to a professional, archeological opinion."

In the dark of the night, an anonymous hand damaged the rare mosaic. Stones were thrown at diggers. The Greek Orthodox Patriarch and the Armenian Patriarch appealed to the Vatican and raised an outcry. The heads of nine large churches in Jerusalem threatened to request help from the United Nations to protect the antiquities excavated in Jerusalem. The Armenian Patriarch, Torgom Manukian, asked to receive the bones of the holy in the third wall. The Greek Orthodox Patriarch, Deodoros II is also requesting to receive the holy bones in Mamilla. And Schmiedel says it will be over his dead body.

"This is all a ruse of the Antiquities Authority. To create a force to counter us, they found a religious sect that will claim that this [site] belongs to it. We are already managing among ourselves. Perhaps we will agree that each party will believe that this belongs to it. Take the tomb of Hulda Hanvi'a for example. The Christians think that some of their figures are buried there, the Muslims think that it belongs to them, and we say that it is ours. The site is kept up nicely, and the truth is known only in heaven."

Avni: "It seems to us that they have decided that this is worth arguing about. There is no logical explanation for their struggle there. Perhaps it involves power struggles within the haredi community. Perhaps it is a way to raise money abroad. The struggle is not always for a divine purpose."

And Avni travels in his white jeep from excavation to excavation looking for some ray of light at the end of the cave. Everything is dark. The haredim suggest to him: Why do you need this? Leave it. You are still young. They remind him of Shiloh's bitter end.

[box, p 21]

State Funeral for the Jews of Warsaw

In recent years, Atra' Qadisha' has expanded its activity abroad. Its activists travel in Europe, East Europe, and the Arab countries. Schmiedel says that non-Jews are more sensitive than Jews to the desecration of Jewish graves.

About three years ago, Atra' Qadisha' received information that the Polish authorities were about to build a skyscraper in the area of an old Jewish cemetery in Warsaw. Schmiedel and his people hurried to the site to see a shocking sight: Within a large hole dug by bulldozers in the area of the cemetery were hundreds of skulls and bones and phylacteries and prayer shawls stained with blood. A mass grave [qever-ahim] for Jews put to death in the Holocaust.

Members of Atra' Qadisha' began to act immediately. They quickly sent cables to the Polish prime minister and religious affairs minister. They called important hasidic leaders and Jewish activists in the world who immediately made use of their contacts in the White House to exert strong pressure on the Polish Government.

According to Schmiedel, matters reached the point where the Polish religious affairs minister traveled to New York to meet with the Bobover Admor. At the end of the meeting,

the minister pledged to return the bones to their resting place, hold a state funeral for them, and set up a monument.

That indeed is what happened: In the freezing cold and snow, a strange funeral took place in Warsaw. Semitrailers carrying 300 coffins travelled to the cemetery to reinter the bones. The skyscraper was relocated to another site.

Atra' Qadisha' was also successful in Czechoslovakia. Plans to build a water purification institute at a Jewish cemetery were changed after Atra' Qadisha' exerted pressure. In Hamburg, Atra' Qadisha' is now opposing the authorities' intention to build a large mall on a Jewish cemetery in the city. Haredim from Belgium were brought to demonstrate. Atra' Qadisha' met with the U.S. ambassador in Germany and brought him to the cemetery. According to Schmiedel, the United States threatened a diplomatic incident if the mall was built.

Schmiedel is now at the height of a struggle to dissuade the Egyptians from building a road within the area of a Jewish cemetery in Cairo. Schmiedel traveled to Cairo and met with the Egyptian housing and development minister. He hired American engineers who proposed to the Egyptians an alternate route for the road. The Egyptians are delaying their response. The White House is exerting pressure. Schmiedel believes that he will win.

Statistics Reported on Ma'ale Adumim

92P40129A 'Ofra NEQUDA in Hebrew Jan 92 p 34

[Text] In a city of almost 15,500, there are about 3,200 apartment units. Almost 1,000 additional apartments are being built on a site on the western hill. This is in addition to about 100 units in various parts of the city. Within a year, another 20,000 residents are expected to arrive. In the industrial sector, there are approximately 85 factories with almost unlimited land reserves. Close to 1,200 people are employed there, but only about 12 percent live in Ma'ale Adumim. There are various types of construction, from small apartments in communal housing to land-linked apartments, cottages, and build-your-own-home dwellings. The city council employs 200 people. The city has two ambulances which operate totally on a voluntary basis and there are a doctor and medic who work 24-hour shifts. In case of emergency, there is a regional hospital, Hadasa-Mount of Olives, for use by city residents. There are dental clinics, two newborn clinics, and various Qupat Holim [national health fund] clinics.

Ma'ale Adumim has a religious neighborhood called Mitzpe Nevo that was established in 1985; it is separated from the other neighborhoods. Its isolation from the city gives it an advantage on sabbaths and holidays, but it is connected to the city, of course, in terms of services. About 160 families live in the neighborhood. Agudat Mitzpe Nevo established the neighborhood and is concerned with continued construction (no contractor builds here). Almost all the residents of the neighborhood wear knitted yarmulkes. A hesder yeshiva, "Brakhat Moshe," is located in the neighborhood and a girls ulpana' [intensive Hebrew school] with 40 students, some of whom live in the city. Some 90 apartment units of the build-your-own-home type are being planned as well as approximately 500 regular units.

Settlement Costs in Territories

92AE0198E Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT (Weekend Supplement) in Hebrew 31 Jan 92 pp 5-6, 32

[Report by Gid'on 'Eshet, Yisra'el Tomer, Nehama Doeq, Ronit Entler, Dani Kipper, 'Ora 'Arif]

[Text] It began with pure ideology. The whole land of Israel burning in our bones. Shim'on Peres, then defense minister, helped them emerge from the complications of Sebastia. However, even the settlers understood that settlement on the other side of the green line was not going to amount to more than a marginal minority. Something more was needed to induce people to move eastward. Money, which they called "quality of life," became the alternate incentive. It worked extraordinarily well.

If someone deserves an advertising prize, it is the one who conceived the slogan "five minutes from Kfar Saba" [i.e., move to a West Bank settlement such as Ari'el, which is not far from the country's center]. "As a result of this slogan's marketing power, about 100,000 residents now live in the territories according to Peace Now's estimate, or about 120,000 according to official estimates. These numbers do not take into account Jerusalem and the Golan Heights.

Money is the factor that is motivating the settlers and their supporters in the difficult struggle which they are now waging over the question of U.S. loan guarantees. Without American money, there exists the danger that Israelis within the green line will be damaged by the settlement campaign. To date, despite the left's claims, the public has not accepted the argument that investments in the territories have been at the expense of citizens living inside the green line. The shutting off of the American spigot is liable to substantiate this argument immediately.

The legal loophole for creating financial incentives to move to the territories was to define them as "development areas." Within Israel, a settlement is defined as a development area based on its distance from the country's center and its residents' economic level. However, in the territories, the criteria are different. Thus, persons of meager means can choose between Ofaqim in the distant Negev and Ari'el next to Kfar Saba'. The choice being made can be seen clearly in the field.

The price of land is about a third of the cost of a house or an apartment. If land is given for free, the price of a home drops by a third. Subtract development costs, and the price drops further. Provide cheap financing for mortgages and mortgages that are larger than those customarily provided in the country's center, and you will find tens of thousands of young couples who are considering or actually moving eastward.

All of this is occurring against the backdrop of the evacuation of Israeli settlements from Sinai. That event created a historical precedent that is influencing people's economic calculations. The Sinai evacuees received large sums in excess of what they invested in the homes and settlements which they had to evacuate. People moving across the green line understand that this precedent will hold if Israel returns the territories. Thus, in addition to the immediate monetary

incentives, a settler in the territories has an insurance policy that will compensate him in the event of evacuation.

The ideologically motivated settlers, with great sophistication, have created a multifaceted situation. While the economic incentives bring tens of thousands to the "five minutes" areas, the ideologically motivated settlers have continued to build settlements. The ideologues are building the base, and the economic incentives are bringing the masses.

The success has been great. Even language has adjusted itself: Those living in trailer homes on the hills are called "settlers," a charged word with a somewhat negative connotation, while those living in Ari'el are now called "residents of Ari'el," a scrupulously neutral expression.

Over the past two years, the settlers came to understand that all of this is not enough, and they began a fight for highways, which reached its peak last month. However, this time, they have perhaps shot themselves in the foot. For the first time, the equation "[money for the] territories versus Israel" has been presented. The money for the large expressways (Jerusalem-Gush 'Etzyon, the Bet Horon bypass, and a new road cutting across Samaria) will come at the expense of highways and interchanges in the center of the country (the Aluf Sade, Bar-Ilan, and Olga interchanges). It was [Finance Minister] Yitzhaq Moda'i himself, who now describes himself as supporter of the whole land of Israel, who turned on the spigot for them in this episode.

If the Americans are serious about linking loan guarantees with settlements, the settlement enterprise in the territories has a big problem. If the government is prohibited from continuing to build and provide land, tax credits, and favorable mortgages, the lever which has brought the settlers will lose its power.

In this case, any increase in the [Jewish] population of the territories would stem only from the completion of construction in progress, i.e., about 13,000 apartments and about 4,000 temporary dwellings according to Peace Now's estimation (senior Housing Ministry officials have stated a different figure). These units could house another 60,000 people, but settlement activity would begin to come to a halt.

The following is a list of benefits to which every settler is entitled:

An Apartment and a Mortgage

Price. As stated, the state does not collect payment for land across the green line, and it fully finances development and infrastructure expenditures. This item alone entails a subsidy of about 45,000 shekels for each apartment or house in the territories.

Entitlement to a mortgage. The Housing Ministry classifies settlements based on their distance from the center of the country and centers of employment. Persons entitled to a mortgage are ranked based on their social situation. The situation is different regarding persons who purchase apartments in the territories. Among the 114 settlements in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza, 81 are classified as "area A."

Entitlement to subsidization for persons living in these settlements is thus similar to that of the six weakest and remotest development towns in "lesser Israel"—Mitzpe-Ramon, Yeruham, Metula, Qiryat Shemona, Hatzor, and Shlomi. A person buying housing in area A receives the maximum mortgage without regard to social situation or whether the purchaser already has an apartment.

The actual mortgage. A detailed analysis of mortgages effected through the mortgage banks in fiscal year [FY] 1990-91 shows that 2,250 purchasers of apartments in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza each obtained an average mortgage of 84,500 shekels, whereas 10,500 young couples who settled in development towns inside the green line each obtained an average mortgage of 56,500 shekels. In other words, a settler received a mortgage that is about 50 percent higher than that received by a young couple in a development town in FY 1990-91. Since then, the gap has widened.

Subsidization of mortgages. Interest on mortgages for settlers in the territories is substantially lower than that on mortgages provided for the purchase of housing units in almost every settlement in Israel, except those on the confrontation line. A zero interest rate applies to 50-75 percent of the mortgages obtained by purchasers of apartments in the territories—a gift from the government. To understand what is involved here, we should indicate that someone who receives an 80,000-shekel mortgage at zero interest for 20 years is like someone who receives a gift of 38,000 shekels from the state treasury, if he is required to pay 4-percent interest.

The data are based on existing regulations, and while the approval of new mortgage regulations is pending, the new law is unlikely to harm the settlers. Ninety-five percent of the price of an apartment is already covered by "place loans [provided to persons who settle in specific areas]" and the mortgage that is obtained. Within this, there are also "gifts," including 30,000 to 40,000 shekels for land and development expenditures, and 40,000 to 50,000 shekels in the form of mortgage subsidization and "place grants." State grants for persons who settle in the territories thus add up to about 80,000 shekels. In other words, whoever purchases an apartment in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza receives half of it as a gift.

Taxes

Whoever resides in the territories is entitled to a 7- to 10-percent income tax reduction unrelated to the amount of his taxable income. State workers, policemen, prison guards, and employees of the civil administration who work in the territories but do not live there are also entitled to a 7-percent reduction.

Whoever moves to the territories is entitled to discharge compensation from his employer.

Whoever buys an apartment in the territories pays a purchase tax (Land Registry Office) of 0.5 percent instead of 4.5 percent.

All of the territories on the other side of the green line are classified as "development area A" under the Capital Investments Encouragement Law. They are thus entitled to major benefits:

Infrastructure development. The government spends 55,000 shekels to develop each dunam in an industrial zone. However, an approved enterprise in the territories pays only 15,697 shekels per dunam, and an unapproved enterprise (e.g., a garage) pays 30,632 shekels. An industrial zone has been established next to each settlement in the territories. Some of them contain only one factory. Almost all of these factories are approved factories.

Exemption and guarantees. An entrepreneur with an approved enterprise in the territories can select one of the following tracks:

1. A grant in the amount of 38 percent of his total investment in fixed assets and a reduction in the company's [payroll] tax from 45 percent to 25 percent.
2. A full exemption from income tax for 10 years.
3. State guarantees for loans up to 42 percent of planned investment, and a grant of 25 percent of investments in fixed assets.
4. A state guarantee of 66 percent of planned investment. Whoever selects this track is not entitled to a grant, but is entitled to an exemption from income tax for 10 years.

Education

Hours of instruction: The Education Ministry has established a standard for instructional hours per grade. In academic year 1991-92, the standard is an average 31.5 hours per week for grades one to eight, with grade one receiving fewer instructional hours, and grades two to eight receiving more. According to the Education Ministry's criterion, the standard class size is 20-40 students; less than 20 students is defined as a half class, which receives one half of the standard number of instructional hours.

According to 'Aqiva Sela', the acting director of the Pedagogic Administration in the Education Ministry, there is no different key for determining the allocation of instructional hours for schools in the territories. In reality, the number of students in many classrooms in schools in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza is less than the standard set by the Education Ministry. However, these schools receive the same number of instructional hours provided to standard-sized classes. Settlement leaders argue that they are financing the difference in hours by collecting a high education fee from parents or drawing from the budgets of the regional councils and local authorities, and that grades are combined in small settlements.

Most of the settlements in the territories are populated by the religiously observant. In many places, parents are required to separate boys and girls, mainly in the middle and high school grades. To separate a class based on gender, at least 42 students per class are needed. In Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza classes are split even when the number of students falls short of the Education Ministry's standard.

A long school day: The Education Ministry has established a criterion for the provision of a long school day to students in development towns and settlements on the confrontation line. A significant number of settlements in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza are defined as being entitled to enjoy the status of development settlements. Settlers in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza claim that the long school day is funded by parents and the regional councils.

Torah study: This entails the addition of eight to 12 instructional hours per week, which are financed by the Education Ministry. A total of 3,000 instructional hours are budgeted yearly for religious education in the educational system. Mati Dagen, the director of religious education, claims that most of the allocation for religious education is provided to a population that would otherwise not receive religious instruction, in development towns and distressed neighborhoods. He states that about 600 religious schools and settlements in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza obtain a small slice of the Torah education budget for all of Israel.

Actually, most of the schools in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza are religious schools that receive Torah education hours. Anyone can calculate the cost of these hours.

Transportation for students: The Education Ministry finances 90 percent of the transportation budget for students living in the jurisdictions of regional councils on both sides of the green line. In the territories, most of the students are bussed each morning to schools. In the civilian administration district of Binyamin, for example, 950 students are bussed daily to schools outside of the district, whereas 870 students travel to schools within the regional council's jurisdiction. In Samaria, the situation is similar.

The Jewish Agency

The Jewish Agency has an arm which handles settlement within the green line, the settlement department, and an arm for handling settlement on the other side of the green line, the settlement division. The former is funded by contributions from world Jewry, and the latter is funded by the state budget. The settlement department's budget is about 80 million shekels, and the settlement division's budget is 116 million shekels, to which the treasury recently added about 30 million shekels.

The Jewish Agency's explanation of these data: Settlements within the green line are longstanding and well-established, whereas those on the other side of the line are new and just starting out.

Radio and Television Broadcasting Authority Fee

By law, settlers are required to pay a radio and television fee only as of the current year. To date, they have been exempted from it, because Israeli law has not been applied in the territories. It is interesting to note that the settlers have never demanded that this law be applied to them. The initiative to require them to pay the fee originated with the left, in a private bill submitted by Knesset Member Avraham Shohet. "The settlers pay the full fee," reported a spokeswoman for the Broadcasting Authority. The authority, on the other hand, is shaking off responsibility for

providing service, arguing that "we are not responsible for providing transmitters. Petition the Communications Ministry!"

The preceding enumeration is incomplete. The following are some more examples of the costs which settlements in the territories are imposing on the Israeli taxpayer. Security. The use of the army to guard settlements and escort the busses containing students and settlers is a direct settlement outlay that adds to the regular cost of maintaining the army in the territories.

Local authorities. The local authorities in the territories receive financial aid from the government because they are defined as development areas. This expenditure could be saved if people lived in the center of the country.

Highways. Some of the roads that have been paved in the territories by the Public Works Department are defined as security roads. Such roads are, however, supposed to be paved by the Defense Ministry.

Infrastructure. Bezeq [telecommunications company], the Electric Company, and Meqorot [water company] are setting up the infrastructure for Israeli settlements in the territories. The outlay for this infrastructure would be saved if these people lived in the center of the country.

Other benefits. Many bodies share in the funding of activities in the territories. The banks and the health insurance funds are establishing branches there, state ministries are participating in budgets, day care centers receive assistance, and public transportation is subsidized.

And the conclusions—all of them are in political realm.

[box on p 6 by Tzvi Zinger]

A House for 50,000 Shekels

"The intifadah does not bother us. Nor are we bothered by the recent shootings. What most frightens us is the prospect of the government one day deciding, God forbid, to evacuate the settlement. We have invested a great deal of money here, and I do not know if we would even get our investment back."

Dalya Mizrahi, 39, arrived with her family at the settlement of Rimmonim in the Judaeian Desert three years ago. She, her husband Moshe, and their three children, were not motivated by ideological factors or a desire to settle. Dalya Mizrahi: "We lived in a three-room apartment in a large apartment building. However, we wanted more room and privacy. With the money we had, we would not have been able to buy a cottage in the city like the one in which we live now. Here, we have more space, a better quality of life, quiet, and a better social life."

The family sold its apartment in East Talpiyot [a Jerusalem neighborhood] for 75,000 shekels and purchased, for 50,000 shekels, a one-story, three-room cottage, on which it spent about 15,000 shekels to expand into a bilevel, six-room cottage.

Although they could have managed without a mortgage and still gotten back change, they preferred to obtain a 17-year,

\$25,000 mortgage. They pay about 700 shekels monthly. They acquired a half dunam of land with the cottage, where they have a small garden.

Dalya Mizrahi: "It is better for all of us here. The children have diverse social activities, the school is good with round-trip transportation, and there are activities at the culture and sports center for youths and at Beitar [sport and youth organization]. We adults also have a good social life. The culture committee organizes events. There are parties on Friday, bingo, and sing-alongs."

Dalya's husband Moshe works as a locksmith in Jerusalem, about 30 km from the settlement. Every morning he travels by car to his work place, giving rides to others from the

settlement. Dalya is a child care provider at the settlement's day care center, which cares for 20 children aged five months to three years.

According to Dalya, spending for transportation is a major item in the household budget. Spending for gas is high and travelling by bus to Jerusalem costs 5.90 shekels. Other major expenditures are for heating the house, cultivating the garden, and hosting friends and relatives, who usually stay overnight.

Dalya: "True, we receive a 7-percent income tax reduction, but I do not feel this very much, perhaps because the high cost of living here swallows the reduction. At the end of each month, we have less money than when we lived in Jerusalem. However, on the whole, I am very happy that we moved here. It is a pity that we did not do it several years ago.

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